and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- went naked together.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully

In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west

We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-waters of the Cadereri, I met a young family The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos. -- The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

202 In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

000 My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon
142 this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short,
157 fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil; living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss; fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

609 When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

● 302 To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of
57 the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

773 Now it so happens that a lage cave actually exists near the [323] present site of Acupari. The Mudurucu say that even today the grunts of wild pigs and cries of agny may be heard there.

Others state that women's cnaments such as bracelets made of chestnut shells may be found nar the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendou catastrophe. The Mundurucu dare not enter the cave of Acupat.

Then Caru-Sacaebê left wih Rairu, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place whereNecodemos stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of Mundurucu, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

● [302] Caru-Sacaebê painted the Nundurucu couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the maloca of Necodemos and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemos, Caru-Sacaelê laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there prouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build oven and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hanhu-Acauâte; this was his secord son.

To provide Hanhu-Acauâte with a mother, Caru-Sacaebê took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicricha. [88]

Hanhu-Acauâte grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicricha and seduced him.

Caru-Sacaebê changed Hanhu-Acauâte into an ant, and Chicricha and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemos was already strong and powerful.

773 Caru-Sacaebê drew on a high rock between Acupari and
172 Necodemos those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Pará into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[325] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[384] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 619 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebê.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs --Burial customs.

[321] 805 The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [301] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 142 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 291 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make
COC

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

> *The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturões, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

Hairdress.—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets, ropes, and netting.—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

Ceramics.—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

Weapons.—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

The Munduruc\u00fa are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors and with the *lingua geral*. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Munduruc\u00fa villages. The idea of violence between two Munduruc\u00fa individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Munduruc\u00fa warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Munduruc\u00fa prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santar\u00e9m and Gurup\u00e1[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trumbú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed. The shorter *Dajeruparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís" could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[1] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.
[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 [302] Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Ixyenboretaptam*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiti*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 778 796 The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karíkhi, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very [342] night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in inter-moiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabitutú, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their *iboiwatitit*. [302] His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 80–81.

/15 cont./

*241 192 262 Also:

pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Munduruků also have a certain number of vegetables which backwoodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor. [302] [157] [189] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 177 From this list, it becomes clear that the Munduruků must have had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Munduruků are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (?)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation